/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the region of the circumcision, but shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakaïrí. I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them. There was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kuliseu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty. Here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakaïrí found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakaïrí had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut. I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[Text Continues on p. 29]

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
83 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[142] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakaïrí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of choking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[534] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayua's
[152] house, an old woman was baking beijú outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[265] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up pinerego and
[281] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
124 281 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/190 cont./

characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

## II. Sexualia.

The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisical naïveté is most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way, keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/184 cont./

§ 171 just cover the beginning of the fissure of the vulva and fit closely
291 against it. The introitus vaginae is not reached by the triangle, but is closed from front to rear or at least held back toward the inside by the total pressure since the perineal strip embedded in the fissure between the unrestrained labia majora is drawn taut.

The uluris are made with great nicety and look quite coquettish when they are new. Their entire construction is so nicely thought out and especially be fastening of the groin cords, as well as that of the perinealstrip, which are sewed to the triangles, are such neat work that onecannot explain them as a native product.

§ 171 What the various methds of the women have in common is
291 the closing, not the concealment. They hold back the mucous
• 831 membrane parts, just as among the men the glans is prevented from protruding. Holding back the mucous /185/ membrane is the common mechanical effect of all the devices of both sexes. The uluri achieves it by not an extreme reduction of the covering that concealment seem avoided as much as possible, rather than desired. The mucousmembrane, since it is held back behind the praeputium in th case of the men, behind the labia majora in the case of the women, remains hidden from the outer world in general and thus als from the glances of the circle of acquaintances.

These devices can onlyfacetiously be regarded as "articles of clothing" whose chief purpose would be to serve the sense of modesty. Sexual excitement was not concealed by them and was not kept secret, at leastamong the Bororó men. The little red thread of the Trumaí, to decorative uluris, the colored flag of the Bororó, like ornaments, invite attention instead of diverting it. To be sure, the notion o tracing the moral condition as well as these "remnants of earlie clothing" back to degeneration, during which the natives areupposed to have sunk from a higher level to the lower one of thepresent, will be a heartfelt need for some minds, but it cannt be reconciled either with the variety of devices dominated by one similar, clearly expressed purpose, or with the complex harmony with which they fit into the entire cultural level of te Indians otherwise. The absolutely

/195 cont./
naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns. More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

/196 cont./ their domestic tasks
have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men, and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrï from the second village shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however, cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fun have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaï women --

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BO 1971 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

B 1971 532 831 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it: he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

B 1971 532 BO 1971 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Bororó I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Bärtel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakairí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carefully cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources, out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

/301 cont./

535 of vine characterizes the barbels of the fish. The costume for the other figures of the dance consists of a straw cap with long fiber hangings all around, pulled down over the entire head, and a garment plaited out of buriti leaf strips, which we found on the Batovy even in 1884. Straw caps without a stem belong to the semímo or bat dancer; the imódo (on the left in Figure 92 /see p. 348/) has on its cap a stem with one or even two knob-like thickenings, the imeo (Figure 92, right) a bundle of knobbed stems. The imódo was also hung up in the hut as a maize doll (cf. page 317). Finally, a cap with five little cane rods arranged like Pan-pipes plaited into the stem was called enoschibúro; this, however, is the name of the wood out of which the [532] flutes are carved. The mask represented a whistling bird which I could not identify. The measurements of this cap are: total length 86 centimeters, top piece 11.5 centimeters, actual cap 22.5 centimeters, hangings 52 centimeters.

Fig. 91. Sheatfish mask. Bakaïrí. (1/16 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The buriti doublet of the imeo dance, with fringed sleeves and trousers, Fig. 92, is very remarkable. We also found separate sleeves, which were worn in connection with the loose straw hangings. One steps into the suit at the neck, the width there is one and a quarter meters and a string is inserted for drawing it together. The Bakaïrí tried to put on European shirts in the same awkward way. Between the trouser legs there is a slit that is laced together with a thin cord. /302/ If our clothing owes its origin to a sense of modesty, the Bakaïrí has taken another course, or he must be regarded as a bad satirist, for on some specimens he has hung on the outside a penis consisting of a [531]

/302 cont./

535 [831] little piece of an ear of maize together with testicles of plaiting. Inevitably we feel forced to assume that a human individual is being presented to us. This is not necessarily the case, however, for, [825] conversely, it seems self-evident to the Indian that the animal portrayed appears and acts with all human characteristics, and he

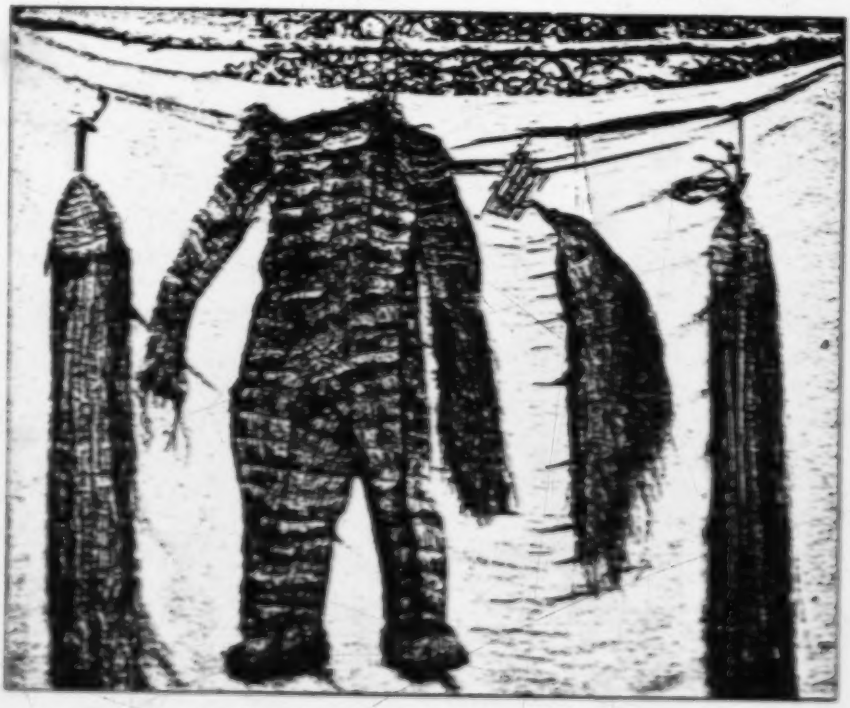

Fig. 92. Makanari of the Bakairi.

imeo. Imeu. Enoschburo. imeo.

also gives the face masks of his animal: human features.

The dance on the Batovy, the ornamental attire for which we found in 1884 in the flute house of the second Bakairi village, is called imiga. (Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, (p. 170 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 51/.) There were painted gourds, with feathers pasted on and open at the bottom, with carved birds looking out, the stuffed skin of a campo fox and an otter, a